

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O P 141200Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 731

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T NICOSIA 4479

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR

1. ON DECEMBER 14 I HAD ONE OF MY PERIODIC, INCONCLUSIVE TALKS WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS. AS CUSTIMARY, HE PRESSED ON ISSUE OF WHAT TERRITORIES TURKS LIKELY RELINQUISH IN AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT. AS ALWAYS, IHCEFUSED SPECULATE ON TERRITORIES OR PERCENTAGES, SAYING THAT I EXPECTED GOT POSITION WOULD ONLY EMERGE IN CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATION.

2. DOUNEAS HAD JUST SEEN ARCHBISHOP. HE REPORTED ARCHBISHOP PREOCCUPIED WITH FORMATION OF NEW CABINET TO INCLUDE BROADEST POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

3. DOUNTAS ASSERTS THAT A PROFOUND CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN ARCHBISHOP'S THINKING. HE REALIZES THREE BASIC ELEMENTS OF CHANGE IN SITUATION IN WHICH HE MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP TO CYPRUS. (A) IN AN ERA OF DETENTE, HE CANNOT HOPE TO PLAY RUSSIANS AGAINST US. (B) HIS NON-ALIGNED FRIENDS INSIST ON A MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION NOT PROCRASTINATION. (C) 40 PERCENT OF HIS ISLAND IS OCCUPIED. IN THIS SITUATION, DOUNTAS BELIEVES

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ARCHBISHOP HAS A REALISTIC APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS.

HE HAS ACCEPTED GEOGRAPHIC FEDERATION AS A BASIS AND, WHILE NOT ENTIRELY PINNED DOWN AS RESULT OF ATHENS TALKS, IS UNLIKELY BACKSLIDE. DONTAS EXPECTS MAKARIOS TO GIVE CLERIDES BROAD AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE, ALTHOUGH HE WILL WATCH CLOSELY OVER HIS SHOULDER, AND WILL CURB HIS NATIONAL PROPENSITY TO UNDERMINE. GREECE WILL FEED MAKARIOS CONSTRUCTIVE ADVICE AND INFLUENCE.

4. DONTAS CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT ARCHBISHOP'S PRESENCE IN CYPRUS IS ESSENTIAL TO A SOLUTION SINCE CLERIDES, WHILE VERY ABLE, CANNOT CARRY THE PEOPLE WITH HIM.

5. WITH ONLY 19-20 THOUSAND TURKS REMAINING IN SOUTH (INCLUDING SBA) DONTAS DOES NOT THINK ARCHBISHOP CAN OR WILL IMPEDE CONTINUED NORTHWARD MIGRATION BUT HE WILL MAINTAIN PUBLIC POSITION OPPOSING POPULATION TRANSFER.

6. GREEKS BOTH HERE AND ON THE MAINLAND, DONTAS STRESSED, MUST WIN SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL ON REFUGEE RETURN. DONTAS MENTIONED A MINIMUM OF 125 THOUSAND. WITHOUT THIS, NO GREEK CYPRIOT COULD SIGN A SOLUTION OR RECEIVE ENDORSEMENT OF KARAMANLIS AND GOG.

7. DONTAS HAD BEEN SHOWN DRAFT ON AIRPORT REOPENING BY FOMIN CHRISTOPHIDES AND EXPRESSED HIS APPROVAL ON GROUNDS THAT FORMULATION COMPLETELY NEUTRAL AND LEAVES QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE FOR LATER NEGOTIATION. DONTAS REGARDS AIRPORT REOPENING AS THE ANSWER TO AEROFLOT OFFER BUT SAYS PRESSURE FOR NORMAL CONTACT WITH OUTSIDE WORLD IS SO

GREAT THAT GOC WILL SIGN SOON UNLESS THERE IS PROSPECT OF NICOSIA REOPENING IN NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE THINKS GOC WOULD BE RIGHT IN SO DOING IN ABSENCE OF A REALLY ATTRACTIVE WESTERN OFFER. DONTAS PERSONALLY DOES NOT REGARD BRITISH MIDLANDS AS SUCH. HE REPORTS THAT GOC CONSIDERS BRITISH MIDLANDS WOULD SUSPEND SERVICE AT FIRST SIGN OF RENEWED TROUBLE WHILE AEROFLOT, BACKED BY SOVIET GOVERNMENT, WOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED.

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8. COMMENT. DONTAS LAST REMARK CONFIRMS OUR IMPRESSION THAT GREEK EMBASSY HAS NOT BEEN SOLICITING OPPOSING CYPRUS AIRWAYS-AEROFLOT LINK.  
CRAWFORD

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NNN

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